1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

on the uncle's death, receive a share of the inheritance. In the ordinary course, however, the sister's son never inherits, though he enjoys numerous privileges during the uncle's lifetime. When he visits his uncle's home he may appropriate any of the latter's property. He has a good deal of say in the disposal of the hand of his uncle's female child, and may receive the bride-price (though he would hand over a proportion to his uncle). In bygone days when he obtained a human head he took it to his maternal uncle, who gave gifts to his nephew and had the head cleaned of flesh. Similarly, the head of every animal killed during a hunt was handed over to the maternal uncle, the head being regarded as a principal part; "for can an animal live without its head?" an appropriate remark for a head-hunting tribe. The maternal uncle could not, among the Katab (as he could among sections of the neighbouring tribe), sell or pawn his sister's son in time of stress. The lad's father or paternal uncle alone could take this extreme measure. The practices described do not in themselves imply any condition of a former mother-right. It is perfectly natural that a boy should regard his mother's home as his own second home, and that when he visits it he should be a welcome and privileged person; for his visits are necessarily infrequent, as he has to make a considerable journey in order to reach his mother's village. That a boy is not allowed to appropriate his paternal uncle's property in the same way as that of his maternal uncle is easily understood, as he lives in daily contact with his paternal uncle. We can also understand that he has fewer privileges in the home of his father's sister, for that home is controlled by the father's sister's husband, who sees no reason why inroads should be made on his property by his wife's nephew. It is interesting to note that females are not privileged to appropriate property from the maternal uncle in the same way as males; but a maternal uncle provides his niece with numerous gifts at marriage.

More suggestive of a former condition of mother-right is the Katab custom that the first two children of a man and a woman who was married as a virgin have to be formally handed over to the wife's family group. The first child is taken, two months after its birth, to the home of the wife's parents, who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

Teeth are not filed or chipped, and there is no piercing of the nasal septum. But women wear lip and ear ornaments. The lips are pierced with a needle at about the age of seven, and a lip plug is inserted, fashioned from the thorn of the *fasak-wari* tree. It is a cylindrical disc with a flange. The front of the disc is hollowed out and a bead inserted. The discs of grown-up women are about the size of a shilling. The ears are pierced at the age of five and rings of tin inserted. Men also wear earrings in the left ear, but among some families (e.g. the Bobai family of Fakan) earrings are taboo for some reason I was unable to discover.

Men and women both wear iron rings and girdles of brass wire of European manufacture. Bracelets of brass and iron are also worn by both sexes. Women and lads frequently, especially for dances, streak their faces with a black pigment obtained from the dried seeds of an acacia tree. Women also smear their bodies with red earth mixed with mahogany oil. The earth is obtained in a river bed and is reduced to a powder by being burned in a fire of dried cow's dung. The red earth may be a means of protecting the body from the actinic rays of the sun, but it appears also to have some religious significance, as warriors in former times were wont to streak with red earth their faces and also the heads of captured enemies.

All men of the Katab now wear small cloth loin-coverings, the flap passing through the legs from front to rear. But in former times the triangular loin-cloth covering was the rule. Important men also, nowadays, wear a cloth thrown round the body and over the left shoulder. Many, too, wear gowns. For priests the use of cloth is taboo. They wear a triangular loin-covering of leather and over the shoulders a cape of cob-skin, the skin of the animal's forelegs being sewn together to serve as fasteners. The inside of the skin is cured with acacia leaves, the use of wood ashes and paw-paw leaves being avoided in order that the outside hair may be left intact. This was the pristine clothing for all males, and it is noteworthy that even to this day, among the Kagoro, no one may enter a religious shrine wearing garments made of cloth. In wet weather men wear head and shoulder coverings of plaited grass. Girls go about nude until the age of five, and then, up to the age of ten, affect a small apron of cowry shells which jingle with every

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

of each village to catch a fish, however small, must hand it over to the priest, who has the fishes cooked and eats them ceremonially with his sons.

Among the Kaje the rain-making rites are also in the hands of a particular family. Material objects used are a monolith set in a grove (into which no one may enter with an axe), and a bamboo branch which has been used for measuring corpses before making a grave. In time of drought the people come to the head of this family and inquire if the drought is due to his negligence. So he takes the bamboo to the grove, and striking the monolith, says: "This custom I have received from my fathers and forefathers. May the Lord of the Heavens (Gwaza) grant that we may be blessed with rain. Let not the people die of hunger. They cling to me and say that I have hindered the rains. May Gwaza grant that the custom of my forefathers may not appear to be a worthless thing, and that I may be saved from the abuse of my kindred." This appeal is apparently addressed to the ghosts of dead ancestors, for, if rain follows, the priest immediately goes to the graves of the most remote ancestor and there offers thanks. There are also rites to prevent excessive rains while the corn is in the ear. To guard against this the rain-priest plants early a patch of digitaria, and with the new corn he makes a porridge and smears it on the monolith with the supplication that the crops may not be injured by an excess of rain.

Head-hunting.—The Katab, like all his neighbours, was a head-hunter, if by that term is meant the practice of severing the heads of enemies slain in battle and carrying them home in triumph to be deposited in the house of skulls. When he had killed his enemy he cut off his head, put it in his bag, and made off at full speed. And when he was free from pursuit one of his friends made him drink immediately a concoction of the bark of the locust and male shea trees, at the same time striking him on the chest and back with locust-bean leaves. These rites were designed to protect the warrior from assault by the dead man's ghost. A companion or relative[1] was then given charge of the head, for the slayer had to avoid all contact with his trophy. The friend passed a twig of the prosopis oblonga tree

[1] One had to exercise discretion in choosing the person to whom one gave the head, or he might claim it as his own.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

727 through the dead man's cheek and, covering the head up with leaves of the locust-bean tree,[1] deposited it in his bag. And then they hastened home. As they neared the town the companion gave the war-cry to announce his friend's success, the warrior himself maintaining silence and throughout the succeeding rites behaving with an excess of modesty. Festivities began at once. The men turned out in their war paint, the women yodelled and kept beating the captured head with branches of locust-beans. The slayer rode round on his horse,[2] brandishing a knife in his right hand (also a Ganawuri custom), while the slayer's friend danced round holding the head. One of the first duties of the head-getter on reaching home was to go to the house of the priest who had charge of the head-hunting rites,[3] the Magajin Elenowum, and receive a further dose of protective medicine consisting of two mouthfuls of palm and mahogany oil and a small piece of the flesh of the skull. The Katab scorn the idea that they were ever cannibals, and this rite of eating a small piece of the flesh of the skull is of peculiar interest as proving that one purpose at least of cannibalism had the "religious" object of destroying the dead enemy's soul. The Ganawuri were admittedly cannibal, and the flesh of the skull was eaten by the priestly family, which had charge of the head-hunting rites, the rest of the body being eaten by the elders of the village. Among the Kagoro the protective medicine administered included a few drops of blood taken from the captured head. The warrior spent that night and the succeeding nights in the house of the priest and, covered in a cloth, was subjected to a process of fumigation by the smoke of the branches of certain trees. The intention again was to shake off pursuit by the dead man's soul. (Among the Berom a head-winner hid in a neighbouring village; and among the Chawai he hid in a friend's hut, while his body was anointed with a filthy smelling mixture of porcupine entrails, etc.) Next morning the Katab warrior, accompanied by the local priest, had to go to Shokwa where the chief priestly family of the whole Katab tribe resides. The priest (Teowap)

727 751 266 727

[1] The Yergum block the nose, mouth, and ears of the severed head to prevent, apparently, the escape of the dead man's soul. Locust-bean leaves are also prominent in the Chawai, Piti, and Tangale head-hunting rites.

[2] Among the Kagoro the head-winner was carried round on the shoulders of his friends.

[3] Among the Piti, Chawai, Kagoro and Ganawuri the captured head was also immediately taken to the sacred grove or handed over to the Chief Priest.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

held up the head, and, putting a little digitaria porridge in his mouth, spat it out over the head, saying to the head-winner: "I thank you. Good fortune go with you, and may you get many more heads." On the same day they returned to their own town, where the festivities were continued for a further two days. On the fifth day the head-winner, the local priest, and friends took the head to the village of the warrior's maternal uncle or grandfather, who congratulated his nephew and slew a goat to celebrate the occasion. A feast was held and the uncle gave his nephew a hoe, bidding him use the iron of the hoe to fashion fresh spears and arrows that he might go and give further proof of his prowess. The nephew then returned to his home, where he was ever afterwards saluted as "mwaliak", the right hand being held up to him. The uncle buried the head in mud, and left it there until it was completely cleaned of all flesh.[1] He then took the head and a jar of beer to the nephew's village, where a feast, attended by warriors and old men, was held. The head-winner was once more given a protective draught, and his body was smeared with mahogany oil. The head was finally handed to the local priest who deposited it in the skull hut.[2] This hut had a small entrance, and the skulls were hung up inside on an ant-proof rafter of the roof. Every harvest the priest offered thanks, taking out the skulls, and spitting on them fragments of porridge made from the first-fruits of digitaria millet.

The noteworthy points about the rites are: (*a*) the use by the head-winner of protective medicines, and the avoidance of his own hut at night time; (*b*) the swallowing (without chewing) of a small piece of the flesh of the captured head; (*c*) the recognition of Shokwa as the priestly father of the tribe; (*d*) the important part played by the head-winner's maternal relatives; (3) the head-winner only considered the act of getting a head as a means of distinction; there was no underlying religious idea such as that the dead enemy would be his slave in a future life.

It may be added that the Zaria Hausa and Fulani never had sufficient control over the tribe to interfere with head-hunting.

[1] But at the conclusion of the feast the head was often boiled and cleaned by the Magajin Elenowum instead of being buried in mud whence it might be stolen.

[2] Some sections of the tribe had special "skull huts". In others the skulls were hung up in the Magajin Elenowum's hut.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

727 The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje. But an agreement was finally reached between them that all heads taken should be returned. The mode of concluding peace between two tribes 728 was for two elders from each side to meet on the boundary, each with a human head taken from the other side. The two heads were then buried together. The Magajin Elenowum was not 793 merely the custodian of human heads, but of the heads of all 224 large animals killed by hunters. All quarry had to be brought to him and was cooked by him and distributed to the various families in proportion to their numbers. The term "elenowum" seems to mean "The boiler of Pots", and to have reference to his functions as the cook and distributor of game. It may be noted that, when anyone killed a leopard, rites somewhat similar to the head-hunting rites were performed. A feast was held, and the slayer had to receive protective medicines and sleep in the hut of the priest (Elenowum or Magajin Elenowum).

793 The Elenowum played a considerable part in the social life of the village. His person was sacrosanct, and in cases of disputes or ill-behaviour he would interfere, threatening with his curse those who refused to follow his advice. He could fine summarily anyone who committed an offence against religion, such as cutting down a tree in the sacred grove.

527 The Katab do not appear to have any rest day, but Sunday is in some respects regarded as a special day. The Katab Chief is installed on a Sunday, funeral feasts are begun on a Sunday, and Sunday is considered the best day for collecting medicines. [823] Among the Kachichere a chief on appointment has to go into seclusion for seven days, beginning on a Sunday. One of the Kagoro hills was said to emit fire in bygone days every Friday and Sunday. The sacred character of Sunday among many Nigerian tribes does not appear to be due to any recent European 778 influence. The sign of the cross is also common. The principal *obwai* hut of the Morwa has a black cross painted on the lintel of the door. The Chawai smear red crosses on certain of their sacred rocks, and it was said that the sign of the cross was 769 always smeared on the captured head of an enemy. It is interesting 782 to note that among the Chawai also a man who feels himself to be unlucky sacrifices a goat at the house of his dead father or grandfather and smears the blood on the lintel of the door.

753 754 *Medicine and Diseases.*—Illnesses and premature death are

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

825 582 621 Mungwap of Agbam also respect the chameleon, and, as the two groups believe themselves to be related and refrain from intermarriage and wife-stealing, they are apparently localized groups of a single clan. On the other hand the Akumat, who do not intermarry with the Mungwop, on the ground of a common origin, do not appear to respect the chameleon. Both the Pagwar and Kachan, who refrain from intermarriage, respect a harmless species of snake which is allowed to live in the house of the priestly family of Pagwar. It appears, therefore, that on the whole the " totemic " groups do not coincide with the exogamous groups, and that if society was organized formerly on a totemic basis the totemism has broken down.

621 792 224 Each ward has its headman or " father " who is the controller of festivals and chief priest. If any member of the wards has been successful in hunting he brings the quarry to the " father " to cook. After it is cooked the " father " sprinkles some digitaria millet over it, and petitions God (Gwaza) to give the hunter further success. He then distributes it among the members of his own and the hunter's family. The man who provided the hunter with the poison by which the animal was shot is given the skin. Even in the ward of the central chief the ward " father " retains his ancient rights. He is the representative of the oldest generation and may therefore be a comparatively young man.

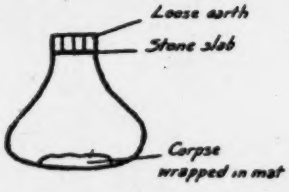
621 628 621 792 771 In olden days each ward settled its own affairs without reference to any outside authority, for the tribe had no central organization until it came under the influence of the Kachichere Habe of Kajuru—from whom the sword which is the emblem of chieftainship was originally obtained. If a member of one ward killed a member of another, open warfare usually ensued between the two wards. The Mingyuo ward is the priestly ward for Fadan Kagoro. They are the first to plant their crops, and are the leaders in the rites observed in connection with the harvest and the annual hunting battue. The Kagoro, however, like the Katab, do not seem to be strongly imbued with religious ideas, and there is a singular absence of organized religion. There are not, therefore, any elaborate initiation rites such as are found among their neighbours the Jaba.

727 554 The Kagoro were head-hunters. When a warrior obtained a head he put it in his bag and carried it home, where he was received with great rejoicing, the townspeople greeting him

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

with ululations and the blowing of horns. He handed the head to a relative who put a string through the lips and danced about with it. He himself went straight to the priestly family which had charge of the head-hunting rites. From them he received a protecting draught consisting of some palm and mahogany oil intermixed with a few drops of the blood from the head. He was subjected to numerous taboos. He was not allowed to speak or touch the ground, being carried round on the shoulders of friends in the same way as a successful athlete in England. After the dance the warrior was taken to his house. The head was buried in mud by the priestly family and when it was clean of all flesh was deposited in the skull hut, which was to be found in every Kagoro village. When this was done a feast was held, but at this feast no women or young people were allowed to be present. All congratulated and thanked the warrior, holding up to him the index finger of the right hand, a mode of salutation to which he became entitled for the rest of his life. The Kagoro refrained from taking the heads of their Morwa and Katab neighbours, confining their energies to the Ataka and Kaje tribes. In times of war the Kagoro abstained from drinking beer. Their villages were protected by hedges of cactus which provided good cover for discharging their arrows. The hills and caves in the rear offered a safe retreat if they were driven out of their villages.

The Kagoro grave is of the decanter type, a type which may have had its origin in pot burial.



As stated in the Katab report, the Kagoro tribal marks are similar to those of the Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kaje, Jaba, and Kagoma. The Kagoro call the Katab "Atiap", the Morwa "Asulio", the Kaje "Ajio", the Fulani "Fata", and the Hausa "Akpat". They call themselves the Agwǫlǫk.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
MORWA

any sacred place wearing a gown. The Morwa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab.

The priest plays a prominent part at the installation of the chief. He gives the chief a special draught to drink, and then ceremonially shaves and washes him, afterwards clothing him in a gown. The Morwa chief is, like his neighbours, the possessor of a sacred sword, the magical emblem. At the installation of a new chief the priest fetches the sword from the house of the late chief. It is carefully wrapped up and none may look on it except the priest and chief. The priest slays a goat and chicken (provided by the chief) and rubs the blood (mingled with water) on the sword, saying: "Sword I have brought you here that you may bless us. Let the chief and this town have prosperity and may no evil come, even to a child. For I perform the rites my father performed. Let not the chief die early, and may no sickness overtake him or his wives or his children." On each Friday for the first month or so of his reign, and at intervals throughout each year, the chief summons the priest to bring the sword. They drink some beer together, and then the priest removes some of the wrappings and shows a part of the knife to the chief, saying "Do you see the sword?" The chief replies, "I do and I rejoice." The priest then says, "Sword, let no evil come on the chief or his people or on any of our domestic animals. For I am of the ancient stock of this country, and these are the rites my forefathers performed."

A year after the installation the concluding rites are performed with feasting and sacrifice. The sword again plays a principal part, and the chief is then for the first time clothed in a black gown. Formerly he could only wear a white gown. The sword is a great asset to the chief; for, apart from the security which it confers on the owner, it is also a source of income. The possessors of minor titles believe that an occasional view of the sacred weapon will secure them also in their offices. They are permitted therefore to view the sword on payment of what must be, to them, a considerable sum.

The Morwa were head-hunters like their neighbours, and their rites were similar to those described in the Katab report. They did not take the heads of Katabs whom they killed, but they took their bodies home and buried them, and danced over the grave.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KANINKON

site, and who addresses himself direct to the high god.[33] If the prayers for rain are successful, he retires to the grave of his most remote ancestor to offer thanks. Though there are over twenty lineages and rain-makers among the Katab, the most important is that of Shokwa, the *teowap* or *magajin dodo*.[34] Among Shokwa, whose origin out of the waters of Kaduna will be recalled, special rites are performed, which would, presumably, benefit the whole tribe, all having some connection with the Kaduna River.

The *teowap*, too, presided over the important head-hunting cult: preliminary rites were performed over the warrior and his trophy by his local *elenowum*; but on the second day, the head-winner, with the *elonowum*, retired to Shokwa, and the *teowap* there performed further rites. After *elenowum* and warrior returned from Shokwa, the latter's maternal uncle might take the head for cleaning, but it was finally deposited in the local skull-hut, in the care of the *elenowum*. A first feast was held on the warrior's return from Shokwa, when the warrior partook of a small piece of flesh from the head. which, it would seem, qualified him technically for the salutation, "*mwaliak*"; a final feast was held when the head had been prepared for display.[35] It is probably significant that the *elenowum* also functioned as the keeper of game-heads (less now than formerly, owing to the disappearance of large game in any quantity from the Katab area); it was he apparently who actually cooked and distributed the game killed.[36]

As regards totemism, Meek states that some of the Katab clans have animal or plant taboos, but that these do not appear to be closely associated with the system of clan exogamy or to play much part in binding the members of a clan together. There is no doubt considerable variation from one lineage, clan or sub-clan to another. The Agbat clan, for instance, respects the crocodile, the Shokwa clan the *tatona* lizard; children often respect the clan-emblem of their mother as well as that of their father. In addition, Agbat appears to be the only clan to perform special rites when a leopard is killed.

KANINKON (TUM) OF JEMA'A DISTRICT, JEMA'A EMIRATE-DIVISION, PLATEAU PROVINCE

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE

A link between Kaninkon and Katab is impossible to establish with absolute certainty and there is no available evidence of a close connection between them at the present time, though relations with Kagoro (and the Kachichere of Jema'a) are traditionally cordial.

[33] Significant if Gwaza is regarded as a rain god.

[34] Kuzat lineage, presumably: Kamantan lineage is an adopted immigrant group The structure of Shokwa to be deduced from this account of Meek's appears to diverge sharply from the Katab norm. In general Meek has noted that the various religious posts are filled by members of distinct "branches" of each lineage: the *teowap*, however, is apparently *agwam obwai* (as *Magajin dodo*), and rain-maker and, as rain-maker, it would seem, in light of Shokwa's miraculous origin, also in effect *elenowum*.

[35] Meek notes: "... The Zaria Hausa and Fulani never had sufficient control over the tribe to interfere with head-hunting. The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje", that is, presumably, among the members of the Katab group: members of the group did not wage war merely for the sake of heads, but on provocation, and the Kaje, being the largest and most aggressive of the neighbours of the Katab proper, very likely gave provocation freely; there is evidence, however, that Fulani and Hausa were preyed upon with considerable enthusiasm by all members. Ultimately, peace-making between Kaje and Katab proper resolved itself into the ritual exchange of heads taken in battle.

[36] Meek's account at this point raises a number of questions: elsewhere he states that a hunter takes the head of his quarry to his mother's brother; and, again, to the "head" of Aswen (which lineage is not specified: Amurun-Alan and Yagofo lineages are recognized as biologically derived from eponymous Aswen; but the adopted immigrant Awai, on the other hand, is credited with teaching the other two the art of animal-skinning); further, if the connection between game-hunting and head-hunting is truly significant, which Meek suggests, a connection between the former and the *teowap* of Shokwa needs to be demonstrated. To some extent, these apparently contradictory statements may reflect actual variation in local practice: if so, the fact needs to be stated explicitly.

According to
Temple, twins are considered lucky. An " unsound " child was drowned, at about the age of four years, " or sometimes later." Children are suckled two years, according to Tremearne, during which time the wife lives apart from her husband: during this period, in the case of the first-born of any union (see ***Marriage***, below), the mother resides in her parents' compound, according to Smith; and after its termination, towards the end of the dry season, she prepares beer for the annual *obwai* rites of her father's clan (see *Burial* and *Religious Beliefs*, below).

Initiation

Boys are circumcised at about the age of eight years—whether or not ritually or in groups is not indicated. At about 10 years, apparently in groups, they are initiated into the *obwai* cult: according to Smith, each clan has its own *obwai* priest and shrine; whether any attempt is made to co-ordinate the initiation rites held by the different clans is not stated. Temple describes the initiation rites as follows (after Tremearne): " [The boys] are first shaved, greased and beaten, and are then taken to the sacred grove, but they may not yet drink with the men. They leave the grove and dance all night, and dancing and drinking goes on for another seven days, when they return to their houses, but they may not speak to a woman till another seven days have elapsed." During the course of their detention, the boys are told that *obwai* is a secret invention to discipline women, according to Smith. Revealing this secret to women was punished with death or banishment before Administration, and is still discouraged, though Smith states that " in 20th century conditions [*obwai*] does not command awe among initiated males, and has lost some former functions."

According to Temple: " The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriageable age. . . ."

As already indicated, there is said to have been no special mark to identify a man who had taken a head, but, according to Tremearne, a man " was not supposed to have attained to the full dignity of manhood until he had killed someone " (see p. 96, above).

Marriage

Smith's analysis of Kagoro marriage is the most detailed available for peoples treated in this volume. An adaptation of his more complete account follows.

In general, marriage among Kagoro conforms very closely to Meek's description of the institution among Katab. Basically, marriage is virilocal, though a couple may share the husband's father's or husband's mother's brother's compound. Polygyny is permitted, that is, a man may support several wives in his compound simultaneously; a woman may have several husbands simultaneously, in fact, but her several husbands always maintain separate compounds in different villages, and there she " visits " them.[84] Marriage contracts may be classified as follows:

(1) Primary: bride is unmarried.[85]

(2) Secondary: bride has been previously married to any man other than (i) a fellow clansman or (ii) one in the ***niendi*** relationship.[86]

(*a*) By betrothal.

(*b*) By capture.

[84] Smith rejects the term *polyandry* as applying among Kagoro: however, ***serial polyandry*** seems to this investigator useful and meaningful in this situation, if it is made clear that divorce is not implicit in the term.

[85] *N.B.*, traditionally, no such thing as divorce existed among Kagoro.

[86] As regards marriage in general, relations between Kagoro clans (***kwai***) are classified as ***niendi***, or as ***nendwang:*** a man takes his primary wife or wives from among the previously unmarried girls of clans that are traditionally in the ***niendi*** relationship with his own clan; he takes secondary wives from among the ***wives*** of men of clans in the ***nendwang*** relationship with his own clan and living in another village. (Close examination of Smith's report does not reveal whether women born into the same clan as his own primary wife, when married to men of clans ***nendwang*** with respect to the man's own clan, are excepted.)

843 with a new husband, to demonstrate to her father (or guardian) that she was not pregnant, according to Kagoro tradition.

584 587 In general, secondary marriage with formal betrothal is negotiated with the utmost discretion, so that ideally the primary (or current, about-to-be-displaced secondary) husband is presented with a *fait accompli* when his wife takes up residence with a new husband. In practice, however, the husband often knows all too well the true situation, but he is enjoined to suppress any show of jealousy or anger, and instead to treat his rival with the utmost sympathy and respect. It must be stressed that a second marriage does not dissolve the first, and that a wife may return to prior husbands without particular formality.

583 587 Secondary marriage by capture appears to have occurred at least as often without the woman's consent as with: the village of the woman's prior husband usually responded with an attack on the village of the offender, but such a measure was likely to be more or less ineffective if the two villages were separated by one or more other villages, who might be inclined to discourage hostilities, and in the end the affair might be settled by the abductor legitimizing the marriage by payments to the girl's parents; when a wife was captured from a neighbouring village feuding might continue until the wife returned—or was returned—to her own parental compound or to her prior husband's village. Indeed, it appears that wives were taken in this way more frequently from Ataka and Kaje, among neighbouring tribes, who were in turn the major offenders against Kagoro, in this respect: it will be recalled that Kagoro took heads in these tribes. However, it appears that it was practised frequently enough among the ancestors of the groups which compose the present-day Kagoro community to have left its mark on the social structure: Smith conjectures that something like a "normal" *niendi* relationship between clans became in some cases *nendwang*, when one clan took by force a wife from the other.

586 587 As indicated already, marriage cannot be dissolved by any traditional means. Even should a woman's husband die, he is succeeded automatically by a kinsman, though she may choose his successor from among his eligible relatives, and, in fact, she may take up—or resume—residence with another husband when she has spent a "reasonable" period with her inheritor.

586 There have been changes in traditional procedures since Administration. Within the past generation, divorce has been enforced and, accordingly, secondary marriage—"serial polyandry", that is—has been forbidden. In an effort to reduce paternity disputes, the Moslem custom (*iddat*, *idda*, etc.) requiring a divorced woman to return to her parents for a period of celibacy lasting three months before consummating a new marriage has been introduced by Administration to replace indigenous practice described. It would appear that in those cases where the secondary suitor can afford to pay the fines, traditional procedures may be followed still; in other cases it seems that Kagoro are indifferent to the European definition of divorce, even when they adhere to the letter of the law.

825 727 587 Kagoro claim that incest between close biological kin is unheard of, though terrible to contemplate. They say also that incest between affines (a man and his brother's wife) was unknown before Administration. Before the advent of the British, a man captured by outsiders was, in effect, declared legally dead, and none, apparently had ever been known to return from captivity; the problem has now arisen of how to provide for the wives of men imprisoned for limited periods for offences against the Administration. The Kagoro solution has been, when the man's sentence is a considerable one, to permit the customary "inheritance" of his wives by his "heirs", all concerned submitting to ritual purification on his release from prison.

837 684 According to Smith, adultery could occur only with a man from another clan, presumably a *niendi* clan, though he fails to specify, since a member of a *nendwang* clan would be able to contract a secondary marriage, if attracted to a woman. Inter-clan adultery, where not witnessed, is said to be usually confessed by the

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

[868] The Kagoro are fine warriors and from boyhood upwards practise games of war, throwing stones, taking cover, wrestling, 721 scouting, etc. Before the commencement of a war a general is appointed, and if they have entered into alliance with others the originating tribe takes command. Scouts are used and a 726 reserve is kept, and if they are driven out from a town they smash the hives so that the bees may settle on the invaders.

Boulders are rolled down from the hills, slings and stones, knives, wooden clubs and bows and arrows are all used in warfare. 411 These latter have iron heads with flanges, and the shafts are so notched that each warrior can recognise his own arrow. It is said that they did not know the use of bows and arrows before their migration, and that they only learnt to use arrow-poison from the Attakka at the end of the nineteenth century. Stockades 712 are unknown. Round hide and fibre shields are used for defensive purposes.

728 When about to enter upon a treaty of peace each party constructs a broom of grass, similar to that used for lighting fires, so that the foe may be exposed if treachery at night is contemplated. The principals then advance to the boundary, each bringing with him a he-goat, the throat of which is cut and the blood smeared on a certain tree or stone, over which three incantations have already been uttered. The heads and skins are set aside for the benefit of the respective high-priests, and the rest of the meat is divided lengthwise, one half of each goat being eaten by the opposing forces, who are seated at some distance from one another. They then separate, each party being accompanied by three hostages, whose persons are regarded as sacred.

643 The Elders of the tribe selected as Chief one of their royal blood, 173 subject to the British Resident's approval, that is to say since 177 1905, when the first British expedition marched against them. Prior to the British occupation they had once appealed to the Sarkin Jemaa as an impartial authority to settle a dispute concerning the appointment of their Chief, but with that exception conducted their own affairs through councils of heads of families, who composed the courts and advised the Chief. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century they had no Chief, but at that time the Kaje inflicted a severe defeat upon them and exacted an annual tribute of two slaves. The Elders each gave a child from his family in rotation, until a man named Gundong said that if he were made Chief he would provide the tribute. He then struck a cotton tree, from which a young man and maiden magically issued, and he founded the dynasty of Kagoro Kings. It is related that the tree withered on the day of his death.

However that may be, the Kaje did not long receive their 727 tribute, but every year subjected the defaulters to a slave raid. 885 From this time the Kagoro themselves took to slave-raiding

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

and head-hunting, and no man of the tribe is fully accredited until he has taken a human head; that of a monkey, hartebeeste, or one or two kinds of bok are accepted as a substitute. 727 885

Slaves were treated as members of the family, whether they were captured in war or given for four years' service in payment of a debt. The former only were liable to be sold. The average prices given were, for an old woman, 8,000 cowries = 4s.; for an old man, 10,000 cowries = 5s.; for a virgin, 16,000 cowries = 8s.; for a young man, 20,000 cowries = 10s., prices which compare unfavourably with those which horses would command, *i.e.*, 100,000 cowries = 50s., or even bulls, 20,000 cowries = 10s. 567 436

It is the duty of the Elders to settle boundaries, but an interloper is only punished, divinely, by failure of crops. Private quarrels are settled by vendetta, and the only crimes for which communal punishment is meted out are those against religion. These are punished by stoning to death—black magic by choking. The high priest, or "Meakwap," is in fact more powerful than the Chief, and it is he who regulates and administers trial by ordeal. It takes the form of a calabash of poison; the innocent vomits and is saved, the guilty dies. 681 [683] [793] 695

The ordinary form of oath is for a man to hold ashes, or corn, in his hand, and pray either that if he lies he may become as white as the ashes, or be killed by the next corn he eats. They say that in old times they were not so wicked, and observed many laws.

The Kagoro have no theory as to the origin of man, but they have heard of a great flood. 793

They believe that all souls survive and become ghosts, but that they may be re-born in the body of a descendant, male or female, when they live once more as ordinary mortals. The ghosts are thought to inhabit the sacred groves and hills, that they have no houses, but retain their voice and appearance, and ride, hunt, and fight as of old. They are always hungry and thirsty, and their descendants offer them food and drink, for neglect would be followed by punishment. They are constantly consulted, particularly about war and hunting, by the Elders, who spend three days in the sacred grove, when quantities of gia is drunk. 795

They are also propitiated when a compound is built on fresh ground. The father of the family first chooses the site and places stones where the granaries are to be, the blood of a fowl is then spilt and leaves of the "nok" tree (for luck), are buried on the chosen spot. The big men come and gia is poured over the site three times, and three incantations are made to invoke the aid of the ancestors and of those dead who might be buried in the vicinity. A drinking bout follows. Likewise when land is first farmed an offering of gia is made and when the corn is 342 795 [788] [293] 241 795

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

342 are thatched, sloping up at the back to an angle of forty-five
[768] degrees. A house is not re-occupied after the death of either of its owner or of his wife.

596 The family system is patriarchal, and the head of a house has absolute jurisdiction over its members.

769 They worship their ancestors and observe various fetish.
794 The chief priest lives at Kurmin Bi, and the second one to him
●827 at Bunkua, but each group shares a common place of worship. Muhammadanism is penetrating amongst them. They are head-hunters.

582 A girl is betrothed at the age of seven, when the suitor gives
584 her father three chickens and 1s. Later on he again gives a hoe, a goat and 10s.; and on the wedding day, when she is about ten years old, pays a final contribution of four chickens.

583 A bag of cowries and two hoes are also an ordinary dower.

A form of capture of the bride is sometimes gone through, but the girl cannot be detained against her will, and the groom returns to give her father the customary presents. Ordinarily her parents take the bride to the groom's house, where he cuts up a goat and distributes its flesh amongst his guests, who then retire. The bride is not allowed the right of refusal, but no steps are taken against her if she leaves her husband. The man to whom she goes pays a further dowry to her parents.

[586] Marriage can be terminated on the repayment of all moneys given.
582 Consanguinity is an absolute bar. If a woman has already had a child, one horse is the price paid for her. Her first three
[434] children belong to her father, but can be redeemed by their own father for a bag of cowries and two goats each. Children are an acknowledged currency, a child of four years old does not command more than one goat.

846 A mother and her new-born child are washed in cold water
553 on the day of its birth. On the fourth day the mother takes her infant outside the house, where it is named in the presence of the women of the household. The father names a boy, the
[845] mother a girl, but the Elders of the village perform that function in the case of twins. They assemble for the purpose on the seventh day and partake of a feast, for which the father provides a goat and beer.

764 When a death occurs, women wail and horns are blown. The corpse is wrapped in a new mat of plaited palm-leaves and men carry it to the grave amid shouting, blowing and drumming, while the women and children remain indoors. The chief priest wishes the spirit of the dead and the bereaved family well, and the body is lowered into a grave shaped like a prayer board, either close to the porch of the house if the deceased had had children, otherwise outside under the shelter of the wall. The corpse is laid on its back, a man's face being turned towards the

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38

KATAB.

101 161 The Katab are situated in the Kauru District in the south-west of Zaria Emirate, where they occupy an area of some 200 square miles with a population of 5,000; they have also one township over the border in Nassarawa Province.

101 619 304 They are probably indigenous to their district. They show a certain affinity to the Kagoro and kindred tribes, who have adopted the Katab tribal marks, invented only two generations ago by a skilful operator, which consist of numerous short perpendicular cuts along the forehead from ear to ear and thirteen or more long slanting lines on each cheek from ear to chin. The incisions are painted with soot.

197 Their language, too, resembles that of the Kagoro, Kaje, Attakka and Moroa, and their customs are similar.

891 301 302 304 The women wear a bunch of leaves in front, and a conical shaped piece of bamboo, covered with string and decorated with beads and brass behind. They place wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips and shave their heads.

241 694 852 The Katab are good agriculturalists and breed a considerable quantity of live-stock. They are great highwaymen, and the first drop of water that an infant drinks is stolen, that he may be thus early initiated in the craft.

771 823 They are a pagan people, with belief in sorcery. There is a rock named Dutsin Kerrima in Nassarawa Province, which they declare becomes luminous every Sunday and Friday night, when white cattle are seen on the summit, herded by a white Filane girl.

727 273 They are head hunters and drink heavily.